

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 149001

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TAGS: NATO, RO, XE

SUBJECT: CEAUSESCU VISIT TO EAST ASIA

REF: USNATO 5620

1) FOLLOWING IS REQUESTED CONTRIBUTION ON SUBJECT.

2) BEGIN TEXT.

A) CEAUSESCU'S MAY 15-30 TOUR OF ASIAN COMMUNIST STATES --
WHICH INCLUDED HIS SECOND VISIT TO CHINA, NORTH KOREA
AND VIETNAM AND HIS FIRST TO LAOS AND CAMBODIA --
REASSERTED ROMANIA'S ACTIVISM IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
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AND REINFORCED CEAUSESCU'S IMAGE AS AN INDEPENDENT
COMMUNIST LEADER.

B) THE WARM AND POSITIVE RESPONSE -- AT TIMES MASSIVE --
THAT CEAUSESCU RECEIVED IN PEKING, PYONGYANG AND
PHNOM PENH, AS CONTRASTED WITH THE RESERVED ATTITUDES
OF HANOI AND VIENTIANE, INDICATES THAT ROMANIA AND

CHINA HAVE MOVED CLOSER TOGETHER. ROMANIA'S INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY WAS GIVEN REPEATED PRAISE, TINGED WITH

INDIRECT CRITICISM OF THE SOVIET UNION, BY HUA KUO-FENG, KIM IL-SONG AND POL POT, WHILE IT RECEIVED ONLY PASSING REFERENCE BY THE VIETNAMESE AND LAOTIANS. THUS BY THE TIME CEAUSESCU REACHED CAMBODIA, HIS LAST STOP, HE WAS READY TO SIGN A FRIENDSHIP TREATY THAT IMPLICITLY SUPPORTS THE PRO-CHINESE CAMBODIANS IN THEIR CONFLICT WITH VIETNAM. THE TREATY ALSO CONTAINED SOME OF THE MOST SWEEPING DECLARATIONS OF COMMUNIST PARTY-STATE INDEPENDENCE THAT BUCHAREST HAS EVER PUT FORTH. BOTH SIDES, FOR EXAMPLE, AGREED TO:

"EXPAND THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AGAINST THE POLICIES OF IMPERIALISM, EXPANSIONISM, COLONIALISM, NEOCOLONIALISM, RACISM, AND APARTHEID AND AGAINST ALL ACTS OF AGGRESSION, EXPANSION, ANNEXATION, COERCION AND INTIMIDATION AND ALL FORMS OF DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION DIRECTED AT VARIOUS PEOPLES AND COUNTIES."

C.) EARLIER IN THE TRIP THE ROMANIANS HAD SIGNED ECONOMIC, CONSULAR AND CULTURAL AGREEMENTS WITH THE CHINESE, DECLARATIONS OF MUTUAL SUPPORT WERE VOICED AND CEAUSESCU VISITED A MILITARY DEMONSTRATION BY A CONFIDENTIAL

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CHINESE TANK UNIT -- IN WHAT APPEARED TO BE A SUGGESTION OF MILITARY COOPERATION. IN PYONGYANG CEAUSESCU AND KIM HAD A "COMPLETE IDENTITY OF VIEWS" ON THE ISSUES THEY DISCUSSED, INCLUDING THE UNIFICATION QUESTION. BUT IN VIETNAM, WHERE MOSCOW'S INFLUENCE IS CONSIDERABLE, THE RECEPTION WAS RESTRAINED, WITH ONLY A "FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION" STATEMENT AND MINOR ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS EMERGING. AND IN LAOS, WHERE SOVIET AND VIETNAMESE INFLUENCE IS HIGH, THE ATTEMPTS BY THE LAOTIANS TO INSERT PRO-VIETNAMESE LANGUAGE INTO A PROPOSED FINAL COMMUNIQUE, THEIR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN ROMANIAN ECONOMIC AID AND DISINTEREST IN MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL TRADE POSSIBILITIES SO DISRUPTED THE VISIT THAT NO AGREEMENTS OR STATEMENTS WERE CONCLUDED. CEAUSESCU'S INTENDED MEDIATION OF THE VIETNAMESE-CAMBODIAN CONFLICT NEVER GOT OFF THE GROUND.

D) HUA'S PROMISE TO VISIT BUCHAREST -- A TRIP THAT WILL PROBABLY TAKE PLACE IN THE FALL ALONG WITH A VISIT TO BELGRADE -- REPRESENTS A FURTHER INTENSIFICATION OF THE SINO-ROMANIAN RELATIONSHIP AND AN ESCALATION OF CHINESE-BALKAN MANEUVERING THAT MOSCOW MUST VIEW WITH

CONSIDERABLE UNEASE. THE SOVIET MEDIA GENERALLY IGNORED
CEAUSESCU'S TRIP, WHICH IS NOT SURPRISING IN
THAT CEAUSESCU ONCE AGAIN BROKE RANKS WITH HIS WARSAW PACT
ALLIES AND FAILED TO BALANCE OFF HIS NON-CONFORMITY WITH
A STOP-OVER IN THE SOVIET UNION (AS HE DID AFTER HIS
ASIAN SWING IN 1971). AND SOVIET DIPLOMATS IN BUCHAREST
HAVE CLEARLY EXPRESSED THEIR DISPLEASURE WITH CEAUSESCU'S
RECENT TRIPS TO THE US AND CHINA.

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